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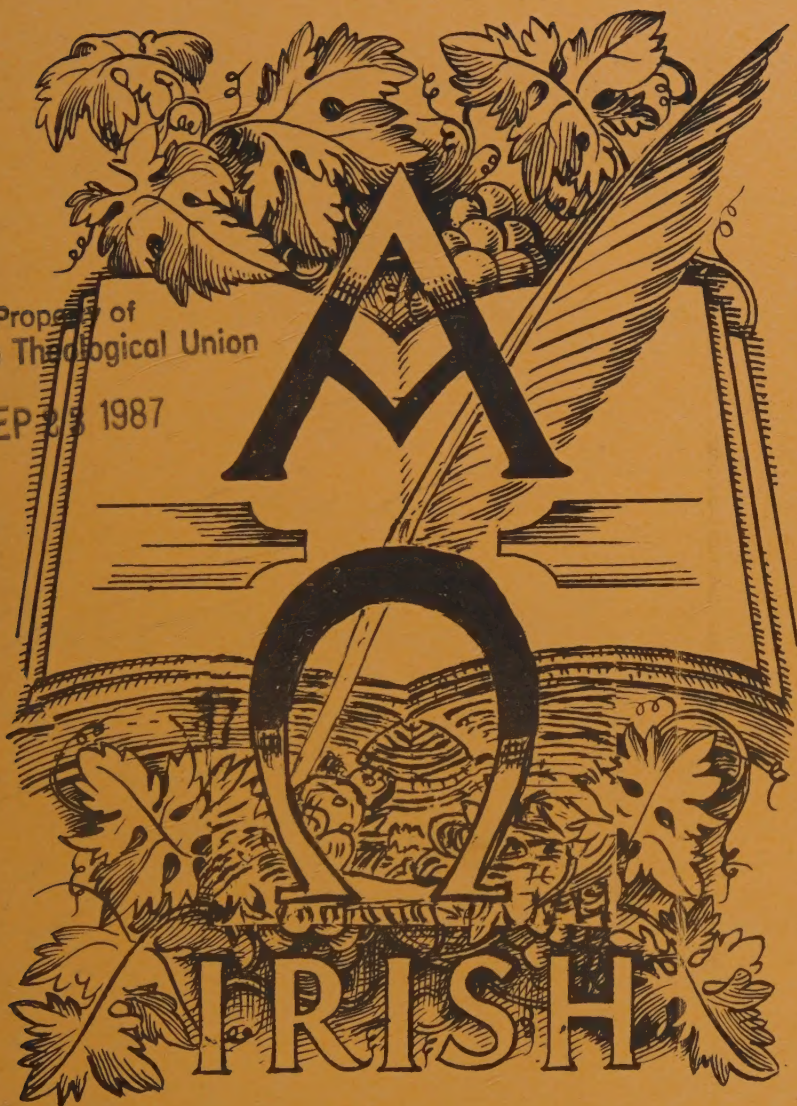
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Shepherding the Flock of God

Trevor Morrow

The practice of the principles of "Shepherding" has caused division and distress throughout the Christian community on both sides of the Atlantic. ¹In particular five elements in this phenomenon have been the focus of criticism.

1. Dependency All of us have real dependency needs. We admire and would seek to emulate those who appear "to have it all together". Those who are on top of problems, (financial, sexual and relational) are attractive to us. "Shepherds" can present such a successful image. "What we do - works!" If we are told in our condition of need, the only hope for spiritual maturity is in personally being shepherded by the Lord's delegated authority with whom we must enter into covenant /2 - the result is over dependence. This is illustrated in a Shepherd moving house with the dependent Sheep following and acquiring accommodation nearby; or in a student deciding where to pursue his studies on the basis of his accessibility to his Shepherd. If this had been the NT practice, the dispersion would have seen the end of the Apostolic Church.

2. Authoritarianism Shepherding or Pastoring is what Paul Tournier call a "Vocation of Power. He warns of the temptation to control, to manipulate, even exploit those who are seeking help. All of us involved in ministry are conscious of this.

"...there is in us, especially in those whose intentions are of the purest, an excessive and destructive will to power which eludes even the most sincere and honest self-examinations." /3

There are dangers here for us all. But what of a pattern of pastoring which says that the Pastor/Shepherd has been delegated his authority from the Lord himself, so that we honour and submit to the Lord by honouring and submitting to the Shepherd. Within such a framework, to argue that the sheep are free and not coerced to submit is to fail to understand that group dynamics are at work and affect both sheep and Shepherd. Consider this for example: The sheep

believes that the way to godliness is by submitting to his shepherd. He is in a group of peers who are conforming to the same pattern. The Shepherd, in exercising his authority, may give a prophetic word (an immediate revelation from God). This Shepherd is in covenant with his sheep. What is the implication of these factors at work? The Shepherd may believe in theory that he is giving counsel on a suggested course of action but the relationship inherently involves authoritarian 'directives'. The sheep may believe that he is free to reject this counsel but the factors at play in the situation have virtually removed that option. quote Derek Prince: "Submission is voluntary - but if you want help you better submit."⁴ This is authoritarianism. If your Shepherd phones you to say that his grass needs cutting, is he merely suggesting a course of action which will teach you servanthood? The answer is no, if by refusing you are failing to honour and submit to Christ whom you love.

Conflict of Authority. It is at this point that many people have become aware of this movement, that is, the conflict between the authority of parents and a Shepherd and that between the authority exercised in a local church e.g. by elders, and members of that church who also are being shepherded in a "fellowship". The parental problem is due, not to the failure of a Shepherd to emphasize the importance of honouring parents, but by the existence of a Shepherd per se who will be involved and responsible for the individual needs of his sheep in the same sphere as that of the parents. Shepherding as understood within this movement makes such a conflict unavoidable. The tensions between the church and the fellowship are also inevitable. To set up structures of authority for members of a fellowship who are also members of a church will of course produce a division of loyalty and act as a prime example for our Lord's observation: "you cannot serve two masters." /5

A new Priesthood. By this we do not mean that "the shepherds" alone claim access to the presence of God. On the contrary, personal devotions and the development of a relational union with Christ is encouraged. Nevertheless, as God's delegate, the Shepherd will have a particular

interest in his sheep and, being mature and in tune with God he can hear most clearly from God for them. In practice what happens is this: As a sheep concerned about a particular course of action I would go to my Shepherd. I would ask him to pray for me and I will pray for him as he seeks the will of God for me. On my return the Shepherd having acted as my "intercessor" is in a position to give directions as to the will of God for my life. Is this not a new priesthood?

5. Uniformity All churches or groups receiving instruction in a certain tradition will of course reflect a certain degree of uniformity in judgment. The practice of discipling through Shepherding of this nature also tends to develop an unhealthy conformism. There are at least three reasons for this. First, the relationship between the Shepherd and the sheep is perceived as that between an apprentice and a craftsman. If the apprentice will not be instructed in the trade according to the ideals of the craftsman - he would be let go! The pressure is therefore to conform. Second, the process of discipling involves not merely the basic teaching and principles of the Christian faith but with it successful behavioural patterns necessary for character building. These reflect the origins of the movement ie Middle class, North American, evangelical, social and cultural values in eg the nature of family life, the home, finances, life style and the role of women etc. Third, since the teaching on these and other matters flows from a narrow stream within the Charismatic renewal movement, the diversity of opinion found throughout the Church "evangelical" never mind "catholic", is not normally present. The result is a Shepherded Community who are uniform in their attitude and outlook with regard to eg the position of women; the non-simple lifestyle, or support for the nation of Israel.

The question we must now consider is: are these areas of concern the result of immature and insensitive application of valid biblical insights or is there something inherently unbiblical and unbalanced in this understanding of Shepherding? There are four considerations which would lead us to make the latter judgment.

1. The nature of Authority The model of authority used

by Derek Prince is that derived from reflections of the "Roman Centurion" (Lk 7:7-8) who functions under a chain of command/obedience structure ie as the centurion is under authority to his superior and so back in the chain of command to Caesar himself, so Jesus is under authority to the Father and derives his authority from him. The implication is that Christ's delegated authority (the Shepherd) is under Christ and derives his authority from him. Now in spite of the qualifications with respect to this pattern for authority (the submission or obedience is voluntary), nevertheless, the authority exercised by it by a person in humility and as a servant is still anchored in the military model. The effect of this is that the authority practised is that of directive jurisdiction over individual lives. Juan Carlow Ortiz, a practitioner of this form of authority, speaks of the need "to control your disciples" /5

This is not the biblical pattern of authority. Robert Murray, a Jesuit, highlights the NT emphasis, namely that Jesus does not merely qualify the worldly model for authority but rather points to something radically different. After quoting from Mark 10:42-45,

You know that those who are supposed to rule over the Gentiles Lord it over them and their great men exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be the slave of all. For the Son of Man also came not to be served but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many

Murray explains the meaning of the term for "authority in the NT:

The normal word of 'authority' in the NT is exousia, the noun denoting the situation in which one is able, competent or permitted. While exousia can mean moral authority, the quality by which Jesus impressed people in contrast with the scribes' "cautious recital of past opinions" (cf Mk 1.22), normally the best English equivalent of it is "competence"...

The NT concept expressed in the word exousia does not have the connotation of jurisdiction over others, much less the power to impose force upon other persons... /6 Kennedy and Lewis crystallize the nature of authority in the NT by saying

It is...the authority of truth, the authority of wisdom and experience. It is something that a wise man recognizes and willingly submits to. /7

2. Delegated Authority Delegated authority is crucial to this whole understanding of the function of a Shepherd. In the writings of Derek Prince this notion is based on two assertions. First, that Christ the supreme ruler over every area of the universe including the church does not rule in every area directly, in his own person. He rules through a delegated authority. /8 Second, the delegated chain of authority is said to be seen in Mt 10.40. When Jesus sent out the twelve, he said, "He who receives you, receives me, and he who receives me, receives him who sent me."

....the Father was represented by Christ, Christ was represented by his Apostles. To receive the Apostles was to receive Christ and thus God the Father. Conversely, to reject the Apostles was to reject both Christ and the Father /9

We shall consider these in reverse order. Mt 10.40 is part of a section which reads

He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives the one who sent me. Anyone who receives a prophet because he is a prophet will receive a prophet's reward, and anyone who receives a righteous man will receive a righteous man's reward. And if anyone gives a cup of water to one of these little ones because he is my disciple, I tell you the truth, he will certainly not lose his reward (Mt 10.40-42 NIV)

The passage is not about authority. Jesus, in sending out the twelve, has warned them that they will be rejected because of their ministry in his name (Mt.10.16-39). Now he turns to show them that some of their listeners will respond positively and will be rewarded. Levertoff understands it like this.

The passage seems to imply that as of old kindness shown to the prophet because he represented God (eg Elisha and the widow) and to the righteous, was rewarded by God according to the measure of the merit of the prophet or the righteous man; so now even the simplest kindness shown to the most insignificant disciple of Christ, because he is a disciple of his, will be rewarded according to the merit of Christ himself." /10

The disciples may not be prophets or righteous men as they go out in weakness like little children but kindness shown to them will be rewarded by the one who sends them (Christ, and the one who has sent him (the Father). This applies to all the disciples of Jesus - not just a select few with delegated authority, for the same word is given to the

venty, except it is in negative terms: "Jesus said to his disciples: and the one who listens to you, listens to me and the one who rejects you rejects me; and he who rejects me rejects the one who sent me" (Lk 10.16). It is also used to refer to a child (who could not have the qualifications of a shepherd) - "whoever welcomes a little child like this in my name welcomes me" (Mt 18.15)

The authority of those who minister the name of Christ is not because they are part of a chain of authority but because of the authority of their message. It is for this reason Jesus prayed, "I do not ask on behalf of these alone (the twelve) but also for those who believe in me through their word" (Jn 17.20). The Authority of the Messenger is therefore in the message. Derek Prince's assertion that Christ does not rule every area of his church directly, in his own person, is not supported by any scripture. It is assumed. On the basis of this assumption the idea of delegated authority is introduced to explain how Christ rules the church and from that we are encouraged to submit to his delegates as we would to Christ himself. It would be our contention that Jesus Christ is the sole head of his church and that his purpose is to govern it in his person and presence at all times.

In the coming of the Holy Spirit Jesus came to his church (Jn 14.16-18) To become a Christian is to be baptized into his body (the church) (1 Cor.12.13) If we do not have the Spirit we are not Christian (Rom 8.9). Through the Holy Spirit Jesus is present among his people. To exhibit his government and kingdom he distributes gifts to his church (1 Cor 12.3-11). When through the operation of the Holy Spirit in say the assembling of the people of God, as these gifts are being used, Christ's presence and authority is being exercised. The standard by which such ministry is to be judged is "the word of Christ" (1 Cor. 14.29-33). Paul, in exercising his gifts encourages his hearers to judge his ministry by the "word of God" (Gal 1.8 & 9; Acts 17.11) Jesus Christ is therefore personally governing his Church with, to use Calvin's phrase - his word and his Spirit. The Elders/Shepherds therefore do not govern for him as his cars or delegates. Rather as co-workers with Christ (1 Cor 3.9-11) they are to encourage "the body" to allow "the head" to govern according to his pleasure.

3. The Role of an Elder or Shepherd Most commentators today recognize that it is virtually impossible to discover in the NT any particular form of church government. Nevertheless it is difficult to see justification for the distinction which Prince makes between charismatic, governmental and discipling authority. In this short paper we shall not consider Charismatic authority. The separation into two authority patterns, one for governing and one for discipling lacks biblical credence.

Jesus Christ has given, by his Holy Spirit, Shepherd/Elders to watch over the flock (Acts 20 28-31). They have the responsibility to equip the Church for the work of the ministry so that through the exercise of the various gifts in the body it will be brought to maturity (Eph 4) The Shepherds, while involved in the governing of the Church will therefore be engaged in discipline, teaching and ruling but discipling is not only for Shepherds, it is an activity of the whole body of Christ when all the organs are being properly utilized. The commission to make disciples was only realizable when the Holy Spirit had come upon the followers of Jesus at Pentecost and the Church was constituted the body of Christ. Those who believed were therefore added to the Church in order that through the body they might grow up in every way into the head. Discipling by individuals with discipling authority apart from the Church is unknown in the NT. Now, of course, there will be those with whom one will specifically relate as friends, helpers and guides. They may or may not be Elders/Shepherds. They will be involved in the activity of one being disciplined but they are but one of many upon whom we are interdependent as members of the one body.

There are many things about the functions of an Elder/Shepherd/Presbyter/Bishop in the NT about which the scriptures may be ambiguous but two points may be made which have a bearing on our discussion. /11

(i) The congregation selected by a show of hands (Acts 14.23) those Shepherds/Elders whom they believed the Holy Spirit had given them and they were set apart to that role by other presbyters/elders (1 Thess 1.5) The Elders/Shepherds were therefore a function within the local church. To be part of a church and to be shepherd-

by a member of a group outside that Church is in NT terms inconceivable.

(i) Elders in the NT (and thus as recognized by D. H. James) were appointed and acted in plurality. By acting in a collegiate manner they are evidently a check and balance in the exercise of governmental authority in the Church. Their responsibility was to oversee collectively the discipline, teaching and overall guidance of the congregation. There is no evidence from the NT that individual elders had the right to give personal authoritative direction to the lives of people under them

4. The Nature of Submission or Obedience The nature of submission or obedience will be determined by the nature of authority and the role of those exercising it.

(i) The focus of our obedience in the scriptures is "The Word" and his truth, the gospel. This is seen in the ministry of the apostle Paul, who, though commissioned and sent by Christ, does not major on his own authority and the obligation of his hearers to listen, but concentrates on the authority of the truth which is the power of God for salvation. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, describes his ministry.

We have renounced disgraceful, underhand ways; we refuse to practise cunning or tamper with God's word, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God (2 Cor 4.2)

Robert Murray comments:

This passage is fundamental for a right understanding of authority in the NT. Its exercise is a witness to the truth, rendered in the Spirit and met by the working of the Spirit in the hearers. It does not so much impose as commend its message to the free human conscience /12

It is for this reason Paul writes to the Galatians to rebuke him if he preaches not "the truth". Our primary obedience is to "the gospel"

(ii) The model of Authority in the Church is relational rather than imperial, ie, based on servanthood rather than lordship. What is involved in submission or obedience will reflect this pattern of authority. Paul eg affirming the freedom of Christians, "urges" the saints in Corinth to subject themselves to those who have devoted themselves to ministry (1 Cor. 15.16) The submission or obedience called

for in the relationship between sheep and Shepherd is, therefore, to quote Ray Stedman, the willingness "to allow oneself to be persuaded by" /13 those who minister the word of God. There are no hidden or concealed pressures to obey

(iii) When obedience is called for with regard to those who are over us "in the Lord" (Heb 13.17) always we are challenged, without exception, to obey those who are over us. We are never asked to obey him who is over us. The pattern of obedience is collegial. An elder or a Shepherd does not have as an individual any special authority. Authority in the NT wisely follows the lesson of Proverbs 11.4: "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety." Decisions were made either collectively by the elders or corporately by the church. Our obedience or submission which is voluntary is therefore directed, not to a Shepherd but to the Shepherds who are disciplining the people of God.

Our conclusion must be this:

There is no biblical justification for the idea that you must be "covered" and "disciplined" by an individual Shepherd who has been delegated by Christ to exercise authority over and to whom you must submit as you would to the Lord himself.

Notes

1. The attempts to achieve reconciliation within the Charismatic movement are recounted in Michael Harper's This is the Day (appendix C), Hodder & Stoughton, London 1979
2. Kelly, John: "If you not under some sort of leadership, you are not under Christ" quoted from a tape on "Christ's Authority in the Church"
3. Quoted by Ronald Enroth in The Power Abusers' Eternity, Philadelphia 1979
4. Prince, Derek: Tape on "Shepherding" (D. Prince publications)
5. Mt 5.24
6. Quoted in Enroth, op.cit
7. Murray, Robert: Authority in a Changing Church, Sheed & Ward 1966 as quoted by Kennedy & Lewis in "Shepherding and Submission" to whom I am indebted for so many of these insights.
8. Prince, Discipling, in New Wine, 1976, p13
9. ibid
10. Quoted in Matthew, Tyndale by R.V.G. Tasker, p109
11. No attempt has been made to distinguish between elder/presbyter/bishop/teacher. While recognizing the difference in emphasis with regard to responsibility, I (an unprejudiced Presbyterian) am assuming they all refer to the same office!
12. Murray, op.cit. p35
13. Stedman, Ray, Body Life, Regal, California 1979

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J. Osei-Bonsu.

It has been maintained that in Luke we find an abandonment of the apocalyptic idea of the resurrection of the body at the Parousia. Instead, what we have, it is claimed, is the idea of an immortal soul whose future destiny is decided at the moment of death. Luke 16:19-31 and 23:43 are adduced in support of this view. Thus E. Schweizer, who is opposed to the whole concept of the intermediate state in the NT, can say: ".... Luke... seems to be interested in a bodily resurrection.... immediately after death (16:22 ff.?; 23:43?) and thus avoids expressions which might suggest the mere survival of the soul" ² In a similar vein C.G. Montefiore can say that in Luke 16:19-31 Luke adopts the Greek view of the after-life, according to which "instead of waiting, all alike, in Hades or Sheol, till the Resurrection and the last Judgment, the good and the bad are judged at once. Straightway after death, the good go to heaven, the bad to hell".³

It is the purpose of this article to show that both Luke 16:19-31 and 23:43 imply the intermediate state of the soul between death and resurrection, and hence do not support the thesis that in these passages Luke has adopted a Greek view of the after-life. We shall also show that our interpretation of these Lucan passages is supported by Acts 2:27,31 which, as we shall demonstrate, refer to the intermediate state.

Luke 16:19-31

Before stating our reasons for interpreting this parable of Dives and Lazarus as referring to the intermediate state, we must first say a few words about an Egyptian folk tale which has been adduced as its background and which features in all discussions of the parable.⁴

The story concerns a young boy, Senosiris (Si-Osiris), who is born to a prince called Satmi in answer to the prayer of his wife who had been barren up to that time. He is born as the reincarnation of an ancient sage.

One day, in Memphis, Satmi saw the splendid funeral of a rich man and the squalid burial of a poor man, both of whom had died about the same time. He is surprised when his son, Senosiris, expresses the wish that when his father died he would be like the poor man. To explain this mysterious statement to his father, he takes him to the next world. There, in the seventh hall, they see the god Osiris sitting in judgment. They see a man arrayed in fine linen and standing next to Osiris, and he is identified as the poor man who had received the squalid burial. They also see the rich man who is being tormented, and Senosiris explains to his father that the poor man's good deeds had so outweighed his misdeeds that he had been given a place of honour near Osiris, who decreed that he should be given the funeral equipment of the rich man, who had been condemned for his injustice.

According to H. Gressman⁵ this Egyptian story came into Palestine where it appeared in seven different versions. The earliest version tells the story of a poor student and a rich publican, Bar Ma'jan. When the poor student dies he receives a squalid burial, whereas the rich publican receives a splendid burial because of one good deed he had performed. A friend of the scholar, however, had a dream in which he saw the poor man walking in the gardens and parks beside springs of water, while Bar Ma'jan was tormented, like Tantalus, unable to reach the water. Thus the student had no reward in this life, so that he might be fully rewarded in the after-life, while the publican was rewarded for his one good act in this life, so that he might not be rewarded in the next.

Some scholars think that the Lucan parable is based on such a funeral story. But we cannot here go into the question of the relationship between the parable and the Egyptian story.⁶ Rather we shall concentrate our attention on the question of whether the story as we have it in Luke teaches the intermediate state and whether its Egyptian counterpart throws any light on the question of the intermediate state in Luke.

J. Jeremias takes Luke 16:19-31 to refer to the intermediate state. He writes, "That Lk.16:22-31 refers to the state after death and not after the last judgment may be seen from the use of the word $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$ in 16:23 (not $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\nu\alpha$) and also from comparison with the Egyptian and later Jewish story which Jesus uses".

In connection with the first point made in the above quotation, we should note that Jeremias says that the NT makes a 'sharp distinction' between Hades and Gehenna:

"This distinction is a. that Hades receives the ungodly only for the intervening period between death and resurrection, whereas Gehenna is their place of punishment in the last judgment; the judgment of the former is thus provisional but the torment of the latter eternal (Mk.9:43 and par., 9:48). It is then b. that the souls of the ungodly are outside the body in Hades, whereas in Gehenna both body and soul, reunited at the resurrection, are destroyed by eternal fire (Mk.9:43 and par., 45,47 and par., 48; Mt. 10:28 and par.)"⁸

W.J.P. Boyd, however, has challenged this distinction, maintaining that "Gospel usage...suggests that Gehenna and Hades are synonymous terms".⁹ With regard to Luke 16:19-31 he argues that Hades does not refer to the intermediate abode of disembodied souls. He adduces the following reasons: (a) Dives' punishment takes place in Hades, not Gehenna. (b) The description of Dives in bodily terms shows that he is not a disembodied soul. (c) There is no indication that Dives' punishment in Hades is provisional. (d) Abraham's statement that Dives's brothers do not have to go to Hades if they believe and obey Moses and the prophets shows that ¹⁰Hades is not the place where the dead must necessarily go.

In order to decide whether Jeremias or Boyd is correct, we must briefly examine the NT usage of the terms Hades and Gehenna; in particular we must determine whether Luke makes a distinction between Hades and Gehenna.

We start with Gehenna which occurs twelve times in the New Testament.¹¹ According to Matt. 5:22 the person who calls his brother 'fool' shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire. In Matt. 5:29 Jesus advises that the eye that is the cause of sin should be plucked out, lest the whole body be cast into Gehenna. Matt. 5:30 repeats the same thought for the offending right hand. In Matt. 18:8-9 and Mark 9:43-48 it is said that the offending hand and foot should be cut off lest the whole body be cast into Gehenna. According to Matt. 10:28 both soul and body can be destroyed in Gehenna. In the parallel passage, Luke 12:4-5, which does not contain the word 'soul', it is said that God has the power to kill and cast into Gehenna. In Matt. 23:15 Christ speaks of the scribes and the Pharisees making a proselyte "a son of Gehenna" (υἱὸν γέεννης). In Matt. 23:33 Christ speaks of "the judgment of Gehenna" which will affect the scribes and the Pharisees. Finally in Jas. 3:6 it is said that the fiery tongue of malice is lit by the flames of Gehenna.

From the use of 'Gehenna' in these passages we can draw the following conclusions:

- (1) Gehenna is regarded as a place of punishment.
- (2) This punishment is by means of fire (cf. Matt. 5:22; 18:8,9; Mark 9:43-48; Jas. 3:6).
- (3) This fire is eternal (cf. Mark 9:44 εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄβυσσῶν; 9:48: τὸ πῦρ οὐ βδέσσηται).
- (4) People in this place or state are presented as having bodies (cf. the references to 'eye', 'right hand', 'hand and foot', 'body', 'tongue', etc.).

Next we look at 'Hades' which occurs ten times in the NT. In Rev. 1:18 Christ has the keys of death and Hades.¹² Hades here clearly refers to the abode of the dead. In Rev. 6:8 Hades is personified and rides after Death. In Rev. 20:13 Hades yields up the dead for judgment. Here Hades clearly denotes the intermediate abode of the dead between death and judgment.¹³ In 20:14 Death and Hades are flung into the fiery lake. Since its duty of holding the

dead in the interim between death and judgment is over, Hades is flung into the lake of fire. Though Boyd says that "the lake of fire is not identified with Gehenna", ¹⁴ it most probably is to be identified with Gehenna. If it is not Gehenna, what is it? In any case, the fact that Hades is destroyed in the fiery lake shows that it has no permanent character, and supports the view that it is the temporary abode of the souls of all the dead except those of the martyrs (6:9) who, because of their martyrdom, have been given the privilege of going to heaven immediately after death.

In Matt. 11:23 (par. Luke 10:15) it is said that Capernaum will be brought down from Heaven to Hades. This saying seems to allude to Isa. 14:13,15, where the King of Babylon who is described as saying 'I will ascend to heaven' is brought down to Sheol. ¹⁵ The LXX rendering of Sheol in this Isaiah passage as Hades indicates that the term refers to the abode of the dead. The same is probably true of Matt. 11:23 and Luke 10:15. Whereas in the OT Sheol was regarded as the abode of the dead generally, in NT times it came to be regarded also as a place of punishment (cf. Dives in Hades). Here in a context where Christ condemns Capernaum, "the thought is not merely of humiliation, but also perhaps of punishment". ¹⁶

In Matt. 16:18 Christ promises that "the gates of Hades" will not prevail against the Church. The idea of the gates here is that they prevent the inhabitants of Hades from leaving. ¹⁷ It gives the idea of a prison, Christ's promise is that the gates "will not close to imprison (in death) those who belong to the messianic community". ¹⁸ Thus the powers of the underworld, the abode of the dead, will not overcome the Church. Hades here is the abode of the dead.

In Acts 2:27 where Luke quotes Ps.16:10 the term 'Hades' occurs: "For thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see corruption". Luke regarded Hades as a temporary abode, as an intermediate state before

the resurrection, because in his comment on Ps. 16:10 given in Acts 2:31 he says, "He (i.e. David) foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of Christ, that he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption". According to Luke then Jesus' body was buried in a tomb (Luke 23:50-56). God preserved this body from decay (σῶμα, Acts 2:27,31) and his soul went down to Hades (Acts 2:32) on the third day (Luke 9:22; 18:33) as a unity of flesh, bones and spirit (Luke 24: 36-43).¹⁹

Acts 2:24 also throws light on Luke's view of Hades here as the intermediate state. Here God is said to have raised Jesus up "having loosed the pangs of death, because it was not possible for him to be held by it". Hades is here presented as travailing with many souls in her womb. We find the same idea in 4 Ezra 4:41-42 where the intermediate state is in view.²⁰

If, for the moment, we leave aside the use of Hades in Luke 16:23, we can draw the following conclusions about other occurrences of the term in the NT:

- (1) Hades is used of the abode of the dead (cf. especially Rev. 1:18; 20:13; Matt. 11:23 (par. Luke 10:15); Matt. 16:18; Acts 2:27).
- (2) Hades is clearly presented as the intermediate abode of the dead in Rev. 20:13,14; Acts 2:27.

Now the question arises whether 'Hades' in Luke 16:23 should be taken to refer to the intermediate state as in Acts 2:27; Rev. 20:13,14, or whether it should be taken to mean a place of eternal punishment equivalent to Gehenna. In our view it must refer to the intermediate state. It is unlikely that Luke would have used Hades to refer to the intermediate state in Acts 2:27 and to the final state of eternal punishment in Luke 16:23. Moreover the objections advanced by Boyd against taking Hades in Luke 16:23 to refer to the intermediate state are not convincing:

(a) He says that Dives' punishment takes place in Hades, not Gehenna. This is undeniable, but we must note that punishment was sometimes a feature of the intermediate state also (cf. 1 Enoch 22).

(b) Boyd appeals to the description of Dives and Lazarus in bodily terms to show that they are not regarded as disembodied spirits in the intermediate state; rather, he says, they are in the final state with their bodies.²¹ But we should point out that they are described in bodily terms, for as I.H. Marshall correctly says, "there is no other way in which they can be visualized".²²

(c) With regard to Boyd's argument that there is no indication that Dives' punishment in Hades is provisional, we can say that neither is the punishment said to be eternal, as in Matt. 18:8-9; Mark 9: 43-48 where 'Gehenna' is used.

(d) Finally Boyd says that Dives' request that his five brothers should be warned so that they do not "come to this place of torment too" shows that Hades is not the place where all the dead must necessarily go. But "this place of torment" need not refer to Hades as a whole, but rather that section of Hades where Dives was. Part of the problem here is that those scholars who deny that Hades refers to the intermediate state assume that only Dives is in Hades²³ Indeed Lazarus is said to be in "Abraham's bosom", but the crucial question here is where "Abraham's bosom" is located. This is not stated in the passage. It is likely that 'Abraham's bosom' was in Paradise, for the patriarch, according to Test. Abr. 20A, is regarded as being in Paradise. We must add, however, that Abraham's bosom' is nowhere used as a synonym for Paradise. It is likely that Abraham's bosom' was located in Hades. A great gulf is said to separate Lazarus and Dives, and this suggests that their abodes faced each other. The probability that their abodes were in Hades is suggested by the Egyptian folk tale which underlies

the Lucan story. In the Egyptian story both the publican and the student are in different sections of the same region of the underworld (Amnte); the same may be true of the Lucan account. Thus 'Abraham's bosom' where Lazarus is, and 'this place of torment' where Dives is, represent respectively the blessed and unblessed section of Hades.²⁴ The fact that they are separated by an unbridgeable gulf does not speak against their being temporary abodes,²⁵ as is shown by 1 Enoch 22 where the intermediate state is in view.

A further argument for the view that Luke 16:19-31 refers to the intermediate state derives from the strong similarities between this Lucan passage and 1 Enoch 22 which refers to the intermediate state of souls between death and judgment.²⁶ According to 1 Enoch 22:8!12 Hades is divided into compartments ("hollow places") for the righteous and wicked souls. We find a similar division between the abode of the good Lazarus and the wicked rich man, for according to Luke 16:16 "a great gulf" (Χάσμα μέγα) separates Lazarus from Dives. It is noteworthy that the expression Χάσμα μέγα, which occurs only here in the entire NT, is found also in 1 Enoch 18:11 where it denotes an abyss where souls are punished.

1 Enoch 22:3-4 speaks of certain "hollow places" in which are kept the souls of the dead until the day of judgment. In the compartment for the spirits of the righteous is found "a bright spring of water" (1 Enoch 22:9; cf. 22:2). In Luke 16:24 we learn that there is water in the place where Lazarus is, since Dives requests Abraham to send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water to cool his tongue. Against this background of 1 Enoch 22:9, Dives' request for water becomes more intelligible, since the water was found only in the compartment of the righteous. Also, if the water of 1 Enoch 22:2,9, is the magical water of life mentioned in 1 Enoch 17:4, then this would satisfactorily explain how a single drop of water could completely quench Dives' thirst (Luke 16:24).²⁷

1 Enoch 22: 10-11 speaks of a compartment for rich sinners who escaped punishment in this life. Similarly we read in Luke that Dives, who "feasted sumptuously every day" and had his share of "good things" in this life, receives punishment in his section of Hades (16:19). Both 1 Enoch 22:10 and Luke 16:25 use $\beta\acute{\omega}\eta$ for "life-time" which is remarkable especially since "the use of $\beta\acute{\omega}\eta$ in this sense of 'life time' is almost if not quite unique in the New Testament. 1 Cor. 15:19 and, less clearly 1 Tim. 4:8, are the only passages which show any resemblance to this usage".²⁸ Also striking is the use of the word $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in both 1 Enoch (22:11) and in Luke (16:23,28). This word occurs only here in Luke and in Matt. 4:24.

In both 1 Enoch 22 and 4 Ezra (7:85-86,93) the righteous and wicked souls in the intermediate state of Hades see one another; this is also the case with Dives and Lazarus in Luke's story, though we must add that in the final state also (after the last judgment) the good and the bad can see one another (Luke 13:28).

Finally, just as Dives was fully conscious of his situation after death and remembered his brothers who ran the risk of torment in Hades, so also, according to 1 Enoch 22:5-7 Abel was fully aware of his plight, and made suit against his brother Cain who had killed him.

In view of all these similarities, especially in the case of the words $\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$, $\beta\acute{\omega}\eta$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, it is likely that there is some relationship between Luke 16:19-31 and 1 Enoch 22,²⁹ and that the Lucan passage, like 1 Enoch 22, refers to the intermediate state.

From all the foregoing it seems most probable that the Lucan passage teaches, not the final state, but the intermediate state. For Luke Hades is the place where all the dead go (Acts 2:27f.). The section for the righteous souls is called 'Abraham's bosom' which may be identical with Paradise. The wicked go to another section where they receive preliminary punishment before the final judgment, after which they are thrown into Gehenna (Luke 12:4-5).³⁰

This picture of Luke's eschatology is not contradicted by Luke 23:43 which we shall now discuss.

Luke 23:43

Some scholars claim that Jesus' words to the dying thief ("Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise", Luke 23:43) imply that he and the criminal would pass immediately after death into paradise, which they identify with heaven. Thus C.G. Montefiore can say that Jesus' promise to the dying thief is that "he shall not merely 'rise' and take part in the Kingdom, but he shall pass at once after death into paradise. Paradise must mean heaven, the heavenly paradise".³¹ But it seems to me that we cannot be sure that 'Paradise' here refers to heaven.

The word 'Paradise' is a loan word from Old Persian (Pairi-daeza)³² In Persian the word referred to a nobleman's or a king's park. The word was adopted into Greek and was used in this sense by the LXX in Neh.2:8; Cant.4:13; Eccl. 2:5. The LXX also used the word 'Paradise' to translate the Garden of Eden in Gen.2-3. Various ideas were held about 'Paradise' in later Judaism. It was believed that as a result of Adam's sin Paradise was removed and hidden at the very end of the earth (1 Enoch 60:23), in the East (2 Enoch 31:1; 43:3; 1 Enoch 32:2) or in the North (1 Enoch 77:3); other Jews believed that Paradise was hidden on a mountain or in heaven: in the third heaven, according to 2 Enoch 8:1-8, or in the seventh heaven, according to Asc. Isa. 9:7. It was believed that Paradise, which existed in a hidden form, would be restored to man in the age to come (cf. 2 Baruch 51:10f.) when the Messiah would "open the gates of Paradise" (Test. Levi 18:10). But in some strands of Judaism it was believed that the souls of some righteous men went to this hidden paradise at death: paradise houses the souls of the departed patriarchs, according to 1 Enoch 70:4; Test. Abr. 20A; Apoc. Mos. 37:5, as well as the souls of the elect and the righteous (1 Enoch 60:7f., 23; 61:12; 70:4).

In the NT the term 'Paradise' occurs only three times: in 2 Cor.12:4; Rev. 2:7 and Luke 23:43. In 2 Cor. 12:2 Paul speaks of being caught up "even to the third heaven",

In Rev. 2:7 the term is used as a symbol of heaven and its bliss.

The meaning of the term in Luke 23:43 is not easy to determine. Some scholars have suggested that Jesus expected that his death on the cross would result in an immediate ushering in of the general resurrection and the new age, so that he and the criminal would be in heaven, the new Eden, on that day of crucifixion. This interpretation recognises that the use of *δημερεν* here as in Luke 2:11; 4:21; 5:26; 19:11 implies that the era of salvation has arrived on that calendar day of crucifixion. This interpretation, however, is unlikely since Luke did not hold that the resurrection and the new age would come with the day of crucifixion.

Alternatively, Jesus may have meant that he and the criminal would go that day to the heavenly paradise as it is presented in 2 Cor. 12:2 and 2 Enoch 8:1-4, possibly as a result of martyrdom. One could in fact appeal to S.Dt.32:4, 307 (133) which expresses a similar hope of entry into the world to come after a martyr death.³³ But this view is not easy to reconcile with Luke's teaching elsewhere (Acts 2:27,31) that Jesus did not ascend immediately to heaven but went to Hades to await his resurrection and ascension.

G.W. MacRae³⁴ thinks that it is impossible to determine on exegetical grounds alone whether Paradise here in Luke 23:43 refers to heaven itself or a place where the souls of the righteous await redemption. In my opinion, however, in view of the fact that Luke in Acts 2:27,31 regarded Christ's soul as going to Hades, it is possible that Luke regarded Paradise here, like Abraham's bosom, as the blessed section of Hades, the intermediate state. Thus Jesus may be promising the criminal that he would be with him that day in the paradisiacal section of Hades where the righteous souls await resurrection.³⁵

If our interpretation of Hades (Luke 16:23) and Paradise (Luke 23:43) is correct, then it cannot so easily be maintained that Luke has abandoned the apocalyptic idea of the resurrection of the body at the Parousia and has adopted a Greek view of the after-life.

Notes:

1. J. Dupont, "Die individuelle Eschatologie im Lukas Evangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte", in Festschrift J. Schmid, Orientierung an Jesus, 1973; C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (2 vols., New York, 1968 (first edition 1972) Vol. 2 p.538; J.M. Creed, The Gospel according to St. Luke (London, 1965 (first edition 1930)) 212-13; H.J. Michel, "Heilsgegenwart und Zukunft bei Lukas", in Gegenwart und Kommendes Reich (Schüलगabe Anton Vögtle, ed. P. Fiedler und D. Zeller Stuttgart, 1975) 111; J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Lucae (Berlin, 1904) 91.
2. E. Schweizer, IDNT 9: 656.
3. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. 2, p.538.
4. See. F.L. Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis (Oxford, 1900) 44-50; G. Maspero, Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt (London, 1915) 144-50; see also H. Gressmann, Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus (Berlin, 1918); J.M. Creed, The Gospel according to St. Luke, 208-210; I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke (The New International Greek Testament Commentary : Exeter, 1978) 632-39.
5. H. Gressman, Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus; cf. J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus (London, 1963) 182-87.
6. For this, see, among others, J. Jeremias, Parables, 182-87; J.D.M. Derrett, "Fresh Light on St. Luke xvi.II. Dives and Lazarus and the preceding Sayings" NTS 7

Notes (contd)

6. (1960/61) 364-80; Law in the New Testament, (London, 1970) 78-99; H.J. Cadbury, "A Proper Name for Dives", JBL 81 (1962) 399-402; K. Grobel, "Whose Name was Neves", NTS 10 (1963/64) 373-82; C.H. Cave, "Lazarus and the Lucan Deuteronomy". NTS 15 (1968/69) 319-25; C.F. Evans, "Uncomfortable Words - V (Lk 16:31)", ExpTim. 81 (1969/70) 228-31; O. Glombitza, "Der reiche Mann und der arme Lazarus", Nov.T. 12 (1970) 166-80;
7. J. Jeremias, IDNT, V, 769 n. 37; cf. also J. Jeremias, Parables, 184-85.
8. J. Jeremias, IDNT, I.658. Cf. also H. Bietenhard, (in C. Brown (ed.), The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (hence NIDNTT) : Exeter, 1975-78, Vol. 2, p.208) who says of Gehenna: "It was also to be distinguished from Hades which houses the souls of the dead before the last judgment."
9. W.J.P. Boyd, "Gehenna - According to J. Jeremias," in E.A. Livingstone (ed), Studia Biblica 1978 II (Papers on the Gospels (Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford 3-7 April 1978) Sheffield, 1980) 12.
10. Ibid., 11.
11. On Gehenna see also W. Strawson, Jesus and the Future Life (London, 1970² [first edition 1959] 135-142.
12. R.H. Mounce, The Book of Revelation (New London Commentaries: London: 1977) 81 n.50.
13. Cf. G.E. Ladd, A Commentary on the Revelation of John (Grand Rapids, 1972) 273.
14. W.J.P. Boyd, "Gehenna", 11.
15. Cf. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 425; W. Strawson Jesus and the Future Life, 130.
16. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 425.
17. Cf. W. Strawson, Jesus and the Future Life, 133ff.
18. D. Hill, The Gospel of Matthew (London, 1972) 261.
19. Cf. A. Wikenhauser (Die Apostelgeschichte, Regensburg [1961] 45) who says: "Jesus hat nach seinem Tode das allgemeine Schicksal der toten geteilt, und seine Seele

Notes (contd)

19. weilte in der Unterwelt (im Hades); aber Gott hat seinen Leib wieder erweckt und mit der Seele vereinigt".
20. In 4 Ezra 4: 40-42 there is mention of "storehouses" where souls are kept as they await resurrection; these storehouses are compared with "pregnant wombs" and are said to be "impatient to give back all the souls committed to them since time began"(4 Ezra 4: 41-42a).
21. Cf. also R.E. Bailey (Life after Death: A New Testament Study in the Relation of Body and Soul, unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Edinburgh University (1962) 420-21) who says: "That a bodiless existence is not meant is clear from the descriptions of the fate of the rich man and Lazarus (they speak, can drink, etc.)".
22. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 637; cf. Str.B.II, 228-31. 228-31. See also R.H. Gundry (Soma in Biblical Theology, Cambridge (1976) 114) who says that here "the intermediate state of the soul apart from the body is described in terms analogous to physical life".
23. So J. Weiss (und W. Bousset), Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments (Gottingen, Vol.I, 1917) 489; E. Klostermann, Das Lukasevangelium (Handkommentar zum NT: Tübingen, 1929²) 168f.; K. Hanhart, The Intermediate State in the New Testament (Groningen, 1966) 198ff.
24. Cf. A.J. Mattill, Luke and the Last Things (Dillsboro, North Carolina, 1979) 26-32. Thus we disagree with R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 420) and W. Strawson (Jesus and the Future Life, 211) when they say that 'Abraham's bosom' is not to be located in Hades (Bailey) or that it does not refer to the intermediate state (Strawson).
25. Pace K. Hanhart (Intermediate State, 198) who says that "both the pain of the rich man in flames and the unbridgeable chasm underline the finality of his condition"; R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 420) who says that v.26 indicates that "the fates of the rich man

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25. and Lazarus are final and irrevocable"; W. Strawson (Jesus and the Future Life,) 211) who sees here "an unchangeable and final division".
26. In the following we draw on the work of A.J. Mattill (Luke and the Last Things, 27-31).
27. See A.J. Mattill, *ibid*; 29 L.W. Grensted, "The Use of Enoch in St. Luke 16: 19-31", ExpTim. 26 (1914/15) 334. L.W. Grensted, *ibid*.
29. Cf. L.W. Grensted, *ibid*.; A.O. Standen, "The Parable of Dives and Lazarus, and Enoch 22", ExpTim. 33 (1921/22) 523; S. Aalen, "St. Luke's Gospel and the Last Chapters of 1 Encoh", NTS 13 (1966/67) 13.
30. In this connection we should note that Irenaeus and Tertullian interpreted the Lucan passage with reference to the intermediate state. In Adv. Haer. 5.31.2 Irenaeus refutes the view of those who claimed that at death souls ascend immediately to heaven. In connection with Luke 16:19-31 he says that "each class (of souls) receives a habitation such as it has deserved, even before the judgment" (Adv. Haer).2.34.1.) Tertullian is even more explicit. On 'Abraham's bosom' he comments: "Although it is not in heaven, it is yet higher than hell, and is appointed to afford an interval of rest to the souls of the righteous, until the consummation of all things shall complete the resurrection of all men" (Contra Marcion) 4.34). Tertullian may have concluded that 'Abraham's bosom' was higher than hell because the rich man is said to have 'lifted his eyes' to see Lazarus. But as I.H. Marshall (The Gospel of Luke, 637) points out, this does not necessarily mean that Lazarus was above him, for the phraseology is stereotyped (see 2 Sam. 18:24; see also K. Grobel, "Whose Name was Neves", 379) But Tertullian was right in interpreting the story to refer to the intermediate state before the resurrection.

31. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. 2, p.627; cf. J. Dupont, "Die individuelle Eschatologie", 19-20; S.M. Gilmore, "The Gospel according to St. Luke"; Interpreter's Bible 8 (1952) 290, 411; H.J. Michel, "Heilsgegenwart und Zukunft bei Lukas", 111; K. Hanhart, Intermediate State, 198ff.
32. On 'Paradise' see IDNT, V.765ff; NIDNTI, II, 760-64.
33. Cf. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 873.
34. G.W. MacRae, "With Me in Paradise", Worship 35 (1961) 235-40.
35. Cf. A.J. Mattill, Luke and the Last Things, 33-34; P. Grelot, "Aujourd'hui tu seras avec moi dans le Paradis", RB 74 (1967) 194-214; H. Bietenhard and C. Brown (NIDNTI, II, 761-62) who say, "In Lk.23:43 it (i.e. paradise) is no doubt dependent on contemporary Jewish conceptions, and refers to the at present hidden and intermediate abode of the righteous. Jesus promises the robber fellowship with him already 'today' in paradise....The intermediate state thus becomes essentially fellowship with Christ (cf. Acts 7:58; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23)". Thus we must reject the interpretation which R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 452) gives to 'Paradise' in this verse "...it was not the promise of Paradise as such which Jesus promised the repentant thief (Luke 23:43), but rather the prospect of being with Himself. Truly, where He is, that is Paradise". This attempt to twist the meaning of 'Paradise' must be rejected, for the Jews, as we have seen, had definite notions of what Paradise was, and these notions by no means correspond to the idea of Paradise suggested by Bailey. Moreover, the thief is promised that he will be both with Christ and in Paradise.

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In recent decades there has been a noticeable revival of interest in Jewish studies in themselves and in their bearing on the understanding of the New Testament. Together with this there has appeared more than an ordinary interest in the Jesus of history, in the relation of Jesus to the Judaism of his age, and in general in the historicity of the Gospel narrative. These new studies carry with them their own methodologies and critiques of the methods employed by earlier and contemporary scholars in the field. In the present essay I intend to touch however lightly on some of these studies, excusing the lack of depth in the treatment by the firm conviction that the issues raised in this new phase of Jewish and New Testament research will continue to be in the forefront during the decade that lies ahead, if not for a much longer period.

1. Paul and Judaism.

In a context such as this one thinks especially of the two major works by E.P. Sanders: Paul and Palestinian Judaism. A Comparison of Patterns of Religion (SCM Press, 1977) and Paul, the Law and the Jewish People (Fortress Press, 1983; SCM Press 1985). The first of these works gave rise to a number of critical reviews and review articles,¹ evidence of the importance attached to Sanders' approach by New Testament scholars. Sanders' works enter into both Pauline theology and the Jewish teaching believed to have a bearing on this. The reviews and critiques bring out the problems involved in methodology and related matters. Since this particular matter is much to large a field to be treated of in a summary fashion, suffice it to note the existence of the question here.

2. Judaism and Jesus Research

In 1985 E.P. Sanders published a further work, Jesus and Judaism (SCM Press). In a review article on it, John Riches (himself a specialist in the field, being the author of Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1980) said of this work that it "is to be welcomed as a rich, vigorous, waspish and provocative essay in a field

that contains many works of distinction but nothing quite like this". The extent of recent works in this field has been illustrated by James H. Charlesworth, George L. Collord, Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Princeton Theological Seminary, in an address to the Irish Biblical Association in 1985 on "Research on the Historical Jesus"² "Since 1980", he notes, "no less than thirty books dedicated to Jesus research have appeared". His review covers the years between 1980 and 1984, including the work of John Riches, and containing a reference to Sanders' most recent work although the year of publication fell outside the ambit of his survey. He notes that John Riches perceptively struggles to show how Jesus strived to present new and penetrating theological truths by employing the terms and language of contemporary Judaism. One of the sections of Professor's Charlesworth's essay is devoted to methodology, mainly relating to the use of the New Testament evidence. There is a methodology also required in any use of the Jewish evidence in such a study. In 1973 Geza Vermes published his study, Jesus the Jew. A Historian's Reading of the Gospels (Glasgow: Collins), in the first section of which (he tells us) he inserts "the Jesus of the Gospels into a geographical and historical realities and into the charismatic religious framework of the first-century Judaism, and against this background Jesus the Galilean hasid or holy man begins to take on substance".³ This volume was planned as part of a trilogy, the second enquiry to be devoted to the reconstruction of Jesus' authentic message. This second volume, The Gospel of Jesus the Jew, appeared in 1981. One of the features of Geza Vermes' work is the extensive use he makes of rabbinic sources, a procedure considered quite unjustified by a number of New Testament scholars who regard these as postdating the New Testament period. This particular point has been a subject of much debate over recent years. E.P. Sanders in his work Paul and Palestinian Judaism has been particularly critical of some scholars for their use of the Jewish Targums in New Testament research, principally because of the problem .

in assigning an early date to them. Yet he himself has not escaped the censures of Jacob Neusner for his use of rabbinic sources, and again by reason principally of dating.⁴ It is all a further indication of the need of attending to the methodology used as research into Jesus, the Early Church and Judaism progresses.

3. Hernando Guevara, *La resistencia Judia contra Roma en la epoca de Jesus*

Determination of the Jewish literature and tradition which were known in Palestine in the time of Jesus is but one of the elements to be attended to in this field of research. This in itself is no easy matter, since the cultural situation was itself evolving during the first century of our era. A question closely connected with this is the political situation in Palestine during this same period, the situation both in Galilee and Judea, and the attitude of the people (whether of the leaders or of the masses) towards the Roman governors and Roman occupation. An effort must be made to ascertain what the messianic expectations then were and how much the general population was affected by them, both in Judea and Galilee. More concretely, one will need to know whether the Zealots existed and were a force to be reckoned with during the public life of Jesus.

The dominant viewpoint, it would appear, is that the Zealots and an active anti-Roman movement did exist in Palestine during this period. It is the position defended in particular by Dr. Martin Hengel, a leading authority in this field.

Recently in a doctoral dissertation for the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, under the direction of Roger Le Deaut, this viewpoint has been challenged by Hernando Guevara: La resistencia judia contra Roma en la epoca de Jesus (published privately by Hernando Guevara, D-8901 Meitingen, Postfach 1125, in 1981). In summary the thesis examines one by one the historical sources: first of all and in greatest detail the principal source, Josephus Flavius; then the secondary sources, Philo of Alexandria,

Tacitus, targumic and rabbinic literature, apocalyptic literature, Qumran, the New Testament and the historical setting of the period. The conclusion arrived at is that there was indeed a general revolt in Judea against Rome at the death of Herod 1 (the Great) which was smothered in bloodshed by the governor P. Quintilius Varo. After the division of Judea the only insurrection recorded is that of Judas the Galilean, which Josephus dates to the year A.D.6, but which probably took place much earlier, that is about the year 4 B.C. In the years that followed until A.D.41 the Jewish people were at pains to arrive at an understanding with Rome: there are no traces of revolutionary activity or of groups supporting a holy war against the pagan master. On all the occasions of the inevitable tension the Jewish people, united under its aristocracy, resorted to peaceful means in order to have its law respected, all the while, however, recognising the de facto reality of the Roman authority. It was only later, from the year A.D.44 onwards, that the situation in Judea turned revolutionary. In the introduction to his work Guevara outlines the opinion commonly held today on "zealotism", particularly as found in the six chapters of Martin Hengel's classic 1961 work, Die Zeloten: Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes 1, bis 70 n.Chr. -- i.e. I. Josephus Flavius being our principal source for information on the Zealots; II. The rebels were given the name "bandits", "sicarii", and perhaps "Galileans"; they themselves used the honourable biblical designation "Zealots". III. In A.D.6 Judas the Galilean founded the "zealots" - a strict organization, with dynastic leadership and a clear ideology which was a radicalisation of the first commandment; this party had a decisive influence on the history of the Jewish people during the two following generations and formed the nucleus of the increasing Jewish resistance. IV. Zeal, whose biblical prototype was Phineas, was the characteristic attitude of this group: for the honour of God, for making real his exclusive sovereignty, they were prepared to sacrifice their lives and to wipe out the pagan domination of Rome and of Rome's Jewish collaborators.

V. The ardor of this zeal was sustained by the belief in the definitive salvation of Israel soon to become a reality; the national hope was at the same time a transcendental hope. VI. The prehistory of "Zealotism" is to be sought in the rebellion of Hezechias of Galilee against Herod. At the deposition of Archelaus Judas the Galilean gave definitive organisation to the movement which remained active until the declaration of war against Rome in A.D.66. When the leader Menahem was assassinated the movement divided; its last members fell at Massada, A.D.74. The evidence of Josephus, of secondary sources, and that concerning the historical situation in Judea is examined in detail in the dissertation's three parts, including the texts invoked which would link Jesus and his first disciples in one way or another with the Zealot movement.

The work is a welcome addition to the ongoing in-depth investigation of the Jewish background to the New Testament, and to the life and work of Jesus in particular. Needless to say, this "common" opinion was not the one universally held. Guevara himself notes the divergent view of Morton Smith. Another major study that makes the same points, more or less, as he does appeared slightly too late for his consideration. I refer to Sean Freyne's Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E. A Study of Second Temple Judaism, co-published by Michael Glazier, Inc. and University of Notre Dame Press (1980).⁵ The latter writer restricts his examination to Galilee and, apart from stressing that the evidence does not indicate any anti-Roman agitation in Galilee for the period of Jesus' life, makes the further point that before the outbreak of the later revolt against Rome, anti-Roman sentiment and resentment was associated with Judea rather than with Galilee.

The New Testament texts considered by Guevara and others in the examination of the possible relationship of Jesus with Zealotism are those on the purification of the Temple (Mark 1:1-11, 15-19 and parallels), the question of tribute to Caesar (Mark 12:13-17 and par.). The sword

carried by Peter (Mark 14:47-48) and par), the logion on the "violent ones" taking the kingdom (Mat.11:12; Luke 16:16), the designation ho Kananaïos or ho zelotēs given to Simon (Mat.10:4, Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). All these texts can be explained without postulating the existence of an active Zealot movement in Palestine (whether Judea or Galilee) in Jesus' day. However, the entire exclusion of anti-Roman sentiment or the genuine aspirations for the end of Roman rule may be going too far. J.T. Milik describes the fourth phase of Qumran monasticism, which he gives as beginning in 4 B.C. as "Essenism with Zealot tendencies". Military and Messianic expectations are to be found in the Messianic Rule (1QS_a) and the War Rule (1QM), texts composed in the final decades of the first century B.C. or the first decades of the first century A.D. While the New Testament texts already noted can or may be interpreted without presupposing actual Zealot activity, the other NT texts giving evidence of a rather vivid messianic expectation in Jesus' day, from his birth through his public life, can scarcely be ignored. The scribes were teaching that Elijah was to come before the advent of the Messiah (cf. Matt.10:10); the advent of both Elijah and the Messiah, as well as of "the prophet" was expected by priests, scribes and people. Jesus' reluctance to use, or accept the use of, the term "messiah" seems to be evidence both of the expectation and of the emotive content of the very term. And for the vast majority of Jews of the period, whether in Judea or Galilee, the role of the Son of David would surely have primarily been "to restore the kingship to Israel" (cf. Acts 1:6). The last word has scarcely been said on the reality and nature of Messianic expectations in Jesus' day. While the debate goes on, however, it is good to have various aspects of the evidence put forward and discussed in depth.

4. The Current Impasse in the Understanding of Midrash
There is no doubt but that we have reached something of an impasse at the present moment with regard to the understanding of the term "midrash", and regarding its

presence in New Testament writings. All this has in part arisen from the extension of the use of the term Hebrew or Jewish literature to the New Testament. Traditionally the term "midrash" was associated with rabbinic literature and with this alone, even when authors were not quite at one in the definition or description of the term itself. For one thing, the very word "Midrash" described one of the major divisions of rabbinic literature. A glance at earlier dictionary definitions of the term show that it was so understood in English. Thus, for instance, The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles (1944); (revised with Addenda, 1953) tells us that the term comes from the Hebrew, where it means "commentary". It defines the word as: "An ancient Jewish homiletic commentary on some portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which allegory and legendary illustration were freely used. Hence "midrashic". The Standard Dictionary of the English Language. International Edition (of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1954) gives the following definition of midrash: "Jewish exegetical treatise on the Old Testament, dating from the 4th to the 12th century, specifically the Haggadah", noting that the word derives from the Hebrew, with meaning "explanation". Chambers 20th Century Dictionary, New Edition 1983, simply defines Midrash as: "the Hebrew exposition of the Old Testament - its two divisions, Haggadah and Halachah". Jewish scholars were no different, when they had occasion to define or describe the term. Thus, for instance, Umberto Cassuto (in Enciclopedia Italiana, 1934) states the first two of the three meanings he ascribes to midrash to be: (1) the exegetical examination of the sacred texts which was carried out by Hebrew teachers from the talmudic period (indicated as the last centuries before Christ and the first five centuries after Christ) and by the teachers that continued their work; (2) the results of this examination. Professor Cassuto continued to give a lengthy and authoritative essay on midrash. More were to follow from other scholars; this, however, need not detain us here. By reason of the influence it was later to exercise, special attention must be given to Renee Bloch's article under the

heading "Midrash" which appeared posthumously in French in the Supplement to Dictionnaire de la Bible in 1957. (She herself perished in a flight to Israel in a plane shot down over Bulgaria in 1955). This essay has been translated into English by Mary Howard Calloway and published in Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice, edited by William Scott Green (Brown Judaic Series 1, 1978: published by Scholars Press). Bloch examines the meaning of midrash in the Bible and in rabbinic literature. As essential characteristics of midrash she instances the following: it has its point of departure in the Scriptures; it is of a homiletic nature; it is of two kinds, haggadah and halakah. She has a section on the biblical origins of midrash, seeing the birth of the midrashic process during the exile (Ezek, Isa.40-55), the Persian period, the formation of the Canon. She studies the evolution of the literary genres in question by recalling that the origin of the midrashic genre is inseparable from the formation and the life of the sacred books. The first developments of midrash are to be sought within the Bible itself and in the literature attached to it. She also makes a study of the versions, including the Targums and in particular the Palestinian Targum (of the Pentateuch), which she considers quite likely to have been originally a sort of homiletic midrash, or simply a framework for a sequence of homilies on Scripture made in the synagogue after the public reading of the Torah. It includes, she says, already the entire structure and all the motifs of midrash. She goes on to a consideration of midrash in the New Testament, noting that quite naturally the tendencies she had earlier rapidly described are to be found in the New Testament. This study of the midrashic procedures in the New Testament, she laments, had as then been almost completely unexplored. She lists some of NT texts of interest from this point of view.

This extension of the study of midrash to include the New Testament was taken up by other scholars in the decade that followed. It was but natural that not everyone would accept this new approach. Midrash was taking on too many disparate meanings.

Some precision and closer definition seemed called for. This was attempted by Addison G. Wright in a doctoral dissertation under the title, The literary Genre Midrash, which he published in two essays in The Catholic Biblical Quarterly in 1966 and separately in bookform the following year. In his research A.G. Wright set himself the task of carrying out an investigation into midrash as a literary form for the purpose of delineating its primary characteristics, constructing a definition in terms of them and finding genuine pre-rabbinic examples. In the course of the work he thus describes midrash;

Rabbinic midrash is a literature concerned with the Bible: it is a literature about a literature. It is a work that attempts to make a text of scripture understandable, useful, and relevant for a later generation. It is the text of scripture which is the point of departure, and it is for the sake of the text that the midrash exists. The treatment of any given text may be creative or non-creative, but the literature as a whole is predominantly creative in its handling of the biblical material. The interpretation is accomplished sometimes by rewriting the biblical material, sometimes by commenting upon it. In either case the midrash may go as far afield as it wishes provided that at some stage at least there is to be found some connection, implicit or explicit, between the biblical text and the new midrashic composition. At times this connection with the text may be convincing, at times it may be desperate; it is sufficient merely that a connection be there. Frequently the midrashic literature is characterised by careful analysis of and attention to the biblical text.

With regard to midrash in the NT Wright believes that Mat. 1-2 cannot be regarded as midrash since the biblical citations "seem to be used not to direct attention to the Old Testament material so that it might be explained but to explain the person of Jesus".

This study of Wright occasioned a review essay by Roger Le Déaut in Biblica in 1969, which was later translated into

English and published in Interpretation in July 1971: "Apropos a Definition of Midrash".⁷ One of R. Le Déaut's major objections to Wright's approach was the practical reduction of midrash to a literary genre. For Le Déaut midrash is much more. "Midrash," he writes⁸,

"is part of a specific 'mental constellation' in which it is endowed with an emotional and religious charge which, we think, obliges us to reserve to it exclusively its traditional meaning. But it is a very broad meaning which has been adopted by the Jewish and Christian scholars who have dedicated the most important studies to it. Midrash is in effect a whole world which can be discovered only by accepting its complexity at the outset. It is pervasive throughout the whole Jewish approach to the Bible, which could in its entirety be called midrash. Technique and method cannot be separated, even if they lead to different literary genres. Midrash may be described but not defined, for it is also a way of thinking and reasoning which is often disconcerting to us."

With regard to Wright's observation that midrash must always have the Scriptures as its point of departure, Le Déaut notes the "Copernican revolution" in this regard brought about by Christ. "The first (Christian) oral tradition and the Gospels effected a complete reversal of the situation. The radical point of reference is Christ" (citing C. Perrot).

The use of the category midrash in NT studies continued during the decade that followed, and so too did attempts to clarify the concept itself. The vagueness of the term as now being used continued to cause problems. Of them more recent attempts to clarify the situation I may instance the essay of Gary Porton and Philip Alexander. Gary Porton published his first approach to the subject in "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible in the Greco-Roman Period" in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (vol.19.1) and again in a revised form under the title "Toward a Definition of Midrash" in Ancient Judaism (ed. J. Neusner, New York, Ktav, 1981, 55-92). Porton begins

his study with the words: "The scholarly study of midrash is only in its infancy". He notes some of the attempts that have been made to define midrash and the variety of distinctions and subdistinctions made. He instances the Jewish scholar Meir Gertner's distinction between covert midrash in which neither the scripture text, the midrashic idea nor the midrashic technique is defined or mentioned, and overt midrash in which the verse, idea and most often the technique are explicitly stated. He also notes J. Sanders' similar opinion and various other views on what midrash is or is not, commenting that it is difficult to bring these various comments made on midrash into relationship with one another. His own definition of midrash is as follows:

"In brief I would define midrash as a type of literature, oral or written, which stands in direct relationship to a fixed canonical text, considered to be authoritative and the revealed word of God by the midrashist and his audience, and in which this canonical text is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to."

Before he comes to discuss the different midrashic collections, as he sees them, Porton makes the point that the Torah was not the sole source of religious authority before 70 C.E. During the intertestamental period there were two possible sources of authority, two parallel but possibly conflicting paths to God: the priesthood/Priestly traditions and the Torah. Until the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. it is likely that the former were more important. Before 70 there was some limited midrashic activity in Palestine, and we have little to suggest that the creation of midrash was of central importance for Palestinian Jews before the first century of our era. Going on his own understanding of midrash, he takes it that post-biblical midrash includes more than rabbinical collections, three more classes in fact, i.e. biblical translation (with targums as an example), the rewriting of the biblical text (the most important example being the Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum) and the Qumran pesharim.

In his 1983 work Midrash in Context. Exegesis in Formative Judaism (Fortress Press) Jacob Neusner notes Porton's work and cites his definition of midrash given earlier, with the comment:¹⁰

That definition encompasses a vast range of Judaic and early Christian literature - as Porton says, "a broad area of activity....". The definition is, in his words, "broad enough to include a large variety of treatment of the canonical texts and traditions, and yet narrow enough to distinguish this activity from other literary activities."

Since Neusner professes that he find these statements accurate, in the body of his work (despite the title!) he cannot use the word midrash at all, since he addresses the genre of writing and thinking known as midrash in only one context, namely that of rabbinic Judaism. In another part of his work Neusner notes that "the range of definitions of the word midrash, of the modes of exegesis encompassed within that word (as well as those excluded by it, if there are any), of the sort of books that constitute midrash (and those that do not) - these are so vast as to make the word by itself, more of a hindrance than a help in saying what we mean".¹¹

Thus has it come about in half a century that a term so typical of rabbinic Judaism as midrash is avoided because it has come to mean so many things. In recent years some Christian scholars have tended to deny the existence of midrash in the New Testament, in part it would appear for the reason that the term had connotations of the unhistorical.

In 1982 Philip S. Alexander read a paper on "Midrash and the Gospels" at the Gospel Conference, Ampleforth, York, the first part of which was published under the title "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament" in 1983.¹² This was originally intended as a preamble to the body of his study and is concerned to identify and define in a general way some of the weaknesses still in evidence in many New Testament scholars' handling of rabbinic literature, for

instance the state of the Jewish text being used, the understanding of the texts, the problems of dating the texts, the accuracy of the attributions of sayings to a given rabbi, the "massive and sustained anachronism" on the part of many New Testament scholars in their use of rabbinic sources, who time and again quote texts from the 3rd, 4th or 5th centuries A.D., or even later, to illustrate Jewish teaching of the 1st century, and finally parallelomania.

The body of his paper, "Midrash and the Gospels" appeared in 1984¹³ He notes the confusion concerning the definition and states the principles that "the correct procedure in the definition of midrash should be to isolate a core of midrashic texts; to examine these texts in order to discover their characteristics, and then to consider the question of whether there are texts outside the corpus which possess the same features". In establishing a corpus of midrash on which to base our investigation, he notes, priority should be given to early rabbinic literature, since midrash as a technique term in modern scholarship was borrowed from rabbinics, having been first applied to rabbinic literature. He believes it is necessary to make a distinction between midrashic form and midrashic method. Texts such as Bereshit Rabba are in midrashic form and exemplify midrashic method, wher as the Targum, for example, could be described as midrashic in method, but with regard to form must be classed as translation.

Dr. Alexander goes on to speak of the darshan, i.e. the Jewish teacher involved in the midrashic explanation of Scripture and of the means used to achieve the aims of midrash. The darshanim had a whole array of techniques: word-play, etymology, numerical value of words. He notes the middot (hermeneutical rules) of Hillel, Ishmael, and Eliezer ben Yose Ha-Gelili, remarking that if these were intended as actual rules for midrash of Scripture, they bear little relationship to the actual exercise of midrash as that is known to us from the texts.

He highlights four general characteristics of early rabbinic Bible exegesis, showing little sympathy for the

"crypto-midrash" of certain New Testament scholars, i.e. an interpretation of some unquoted text of Scripture. In this section he notes that the darshanim felt that they were working within a definite, on-going, tradition of scholarship. They seemed to regard themselves primarily as transmitters of the tradition.

After his definition or description of midrash he asks whether in the light of it, it is possible to identify midrash outside rabbinic literature. He is inclined to say, No: midrash is best confined to early rabbinic Bible exegesis. The differences he perceives between the rabbinic and the non-rabbinic texts are more important than the similarities. To call these other, non-rabbinic, interpretations of the Bible midrash is, in his mind, highly tendentious. The only effect of a lack of discrimination between Bible exposition in such texts as Chronicles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Enoch, Jubilees, Philo, Josephus the LXX and Targumim, the Qumran Pesharim, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael, is to evacuate midrash of any real meaning: midrash becomes simply a fancy word for "Bible Interpretation". If midrash means no more than this, then it would be advisable to drop the term. Dr. Alexander finishes his section on midrash proper by noting that the way forward lies in trying to define these distinctive styles of Bible interpretation, rather than in treating them as an undifferentiated mass.

While we can but admire Dr. Alexander's efforts to show up the problems involved and attempt to bring some clarity to bear on the issues, I find it difficult to agree with a number of his statements and positions. We could probably agree that it is best, for the moment at least, to cease to use the term midrash except when rabbinic midrash is concerned. But we have seen that Dr. Neusner will not use it even for rabbinic literature, given the prevailing imprecision of the term. But if we refrain from using the term in contexts other than rabbinic tradition, I believe this will have to be from expediency rather than principle. However we define midrash, it must be a definition deriving

from the nature of the reality and not by reason of race or religion. Should, for instance, a rabbi Saul produce midrash as a Jew, he should be able to do likewise as a Christian apostle Paul. Similarly with individual midrash items, midrashic technique. Even if in origin these are or were Jewish, "rabbinic" (if the term can be used for first-century Judaism), the first converts to Christianity were converts from Judaism: from Pharisaism, possibly even from rabbinism if this can be accepted as already existing. It would be hard to deny that such converts would not have continued to think and approach the Bible in the former "midrashic" frame of mind. And apart from these questions of principle, it is a fact (or appears to many as a fact) that certain sections of the New Testament are extremely similar to, or are identical with, features of Jewish literature ordinarily described as midrash. Whatever of the terminology, we must continue to find a solution for such phenomena. And briefly with regard to "covert midrash" or "crypto-midrash" - whatever our attitude to the terms, we cannot ignore the NT evidence. We have, for instance, in the NT a text saying that Jesus arose or was raised from the dead on the third day "in accordance with the Scriptures". We also have in rabbinic literature a series of texts which interpret biblical occurrences of the expression "the third day" as salvific, and include in their treatment Hos. 6:2 in this and as referring to the resurrection from the dead. Belief in a resurrection after three days might then be the crystallisation of much midrashic activity over a long period of reflection, even though no single Biblical text is cited with regard to it. The important matter is whether there are such phenomena in the Bible, in the New Testament in particular. How we designate them, whether as "covert midrash", "crypto-midrash" or in some other way, is a different issue.

We can probably agree with Gary Porton that the scholarly study of midrash is only in its infancy. One way forward may be to take the phenomena as one of the manners in which a religious, reflective, people continued to articulate for itself the implications of its belief in a

living God, to be more deeply understood as its religious beliefs were becoming more refined. This, however, means studying the phenomena involved in midrash within a theological rather than a literary context.

5. Jacob Neusner's Midrash in Context

We have already spoken of this work in which the term midrash appears in the title but is of set purpose omitted in the text. It is but one of the numerous works of Professor Neusner, whose views of rabbinic Judaism must be taken into account in any attempted use of its material in New Testament studies. The work itself is part of a trilogy on The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine. This first volume is on Method. Volume two on teleology is entitled, Messiah in Context; volume three on doctrine to be entitled Torah: From Scroll to Symbol in Formative Judaism. The volume Midrash in Context treats first of the Mishnah, completed about 200 C.E. and its position with regard to the Scriptures. The author writes: "...the framers and philosophers of the tradition of the Mishnah came to Scripture when they had reason to. That is to say, they brought to Scripture a programme of questions and inquiries framed essentially among themselves. So they were highly selective" (p.27). The other classical works of rabbinic Judaism are seen as being determined by the Mishnah. "...three different kinds of literature flow from the Mishnah and refer to it. One, Tosefta, supplements to the Mishnah, is a wholly dependent, secondary, and exegetical form, in which the Mishnah provides the whole frame of organisation and redaction for all materials, and in which citation and secondary expansion of the statements of the Mishnah define the bulk, but not the whole of the work. The next, Sifra, exegeses of Leviticus, focuses not upon the Mishnah but upon Scripture and proposes to provide a bridge between the two. Sifra, and to a lesser degree, Sifre on Numbers and Sifre on Deuteronomy, fall into this second category". The two talmuds, of course, comment on the Mishnah and in chapter 4 Professor Neusner compares the structure of Genesis Rabbah ("the document universally regarded as

the first compilation of exegeses accomplished within the rabbinical circles in particular with the treatment of Mishnah in the Palestinian Talmud. The final chapter is on "Revelation, Canon and Scriptural Authority" in Judaism. Here special emphasis is given to the position of the rabbi or sage. "The issues of the status of the exegeses of Scripture collected in the documents at hand, the relationship of the collections themselves to the 'established canon' the issue of revelation after Scripture - these are to be resolved only when we know the status, in Heaven and on earth, and the standing, in the context of Torah, of the sage" (p.128). "In the authority of the rabbi we should uncover warrant for the inclusion of the compilations of exegeses of Scripture into the Torah's canon. In the supernatural standing of the rabbi, we should perceive grounds for regarding the exegeses themselves as torah, revelation, within the Torah" (ibid). "The sages of the Talmud recognized no distinction in authority or standing - hence, in status as revelation - between what the Mishnah said and what the written Torah said. They also used the same processes of validation to demonstrate that what they themselves declared enjoyed the same standing and authority as what they found in the written Torah. So their intent always was to show there in fact were no gradations in revelation". (p.135). The final section of the work, before the Appendix, is entitled: "The Rabbi as Word Made Flesh". The author writes: "Scripture and the Mishnah govern what the rabbi knows. But it is the rabbi [emphasis in original] who authoritatively speaks about them. The simple fact is that what rabbis were willing to do to the Mishnah is precisely what they were prepared to do to Scripture - impose upon it their own judgment of its meaning. This fact is the upshot of the inquiry now completed. It also is the sole fact we have in hand for the identification of the context midrash in formative Judaism...It is the source of the authority of the rabbi himself that turns the figure of the rabbi. The rabbi speaks with authority about the Mishnah and the Scripture. He therefore has authority deriving from revelation. He himself may participate in the processes of revelation (there is no material difference). Since that is

so, the rabbi's books, whether Talmud to the Mishnah or midrash to Scripture, is torah, that is, revealed by God. It also forms part of the Torah, a fully 'canonical' document. The reason, then is that the rabbi is like Moses, 'our rabbi', who received torah and wrote the Torah.....So in the rabbi, the word of God was made flesh..." (pp.136-137).

6. Eskil Franck, Revelation Taught. The Paraclete in the Gospel of John

There is one final work, with a bearing on our subject, which I would like to present here. It is a doctoral dissertation, with the title as given above, presented to the Faculty of Theology, Uppsala in 1985, published in the Coniectanea Biblica. The New Testament Series 14, Lund, 1985, and distributed by Liber, S-205 10 Malmö, Sweden. The work is thus summarised in an abstract circulated with the work itself:

"The subject of this dissertation is the concept of the Paraclete and the saying about it in the Gospel of John. The purpose is to avoid a one sided approach which is dominant in much previous research, i.e. the location of the Paraclete's background in one specific area from which its function and meaning is determined. Instead, a multidimensional model is presented where proper proportions are assigned to the forensic aspect, the aspect regarding the farewell-situation, and the didactic aspect, the didactic aspect taken as the dominant with regard to the content."

The validity of this model is then investigated by examining the various functions ascribed to the Paraclete. The presupposition for this examination is that the Paraclete is what he does, i.e. that his function not origin, is of primary importance. Having confirmed the validity of this model, the investigation goes on to show that there is a 'triad' involved in didactic authority in the Gospel of John, i.e. an interrelation between Jesus, the Paraclete and the Beloved Disciple. The absent Jesus is represented by the Paraclete, who, in turn, is embodied in the Beloved

Disciple and legitimates him. The Gospel of John itself, as the result of the Beloved Disciple's activity, is seen in this context as the initial work of the Paraclete. The next question taken up is that of a possible background and model for such a didactic activity. Scriptural interpretation and exposition in the service of the synagogue is focused upon and the relevance of its 'Midrashic attitude' is emphasised. This context suggests a particular official, Methurgeman, as phenomenologically possible concrete background for the concrete and personal presentation of the Paraclete. The viability of this proposal follows as the result of the investigation and is not a presupposition for it.

Franck has given us a work that merits careful study. It is also interesting in that he has not been deterred in his researches by the doubts cast on the use of such categories as midrash and Methurgeman (which would be regarded as "post-NT period" by some) in his effort to find a possible background and model for what the Gospel of John has to say on the activity of the Paraclete.

7. Conclusion.

The foregoing analysis of certain trends and books illustrate, I trust, that the Jewish studies as background to the New Testament have entered a new and more serious phase. We can confidently expect that many more studies on the same lines will follow in the years ahead.

Notes:

1. Major reviews of this work by: J.B. Caird in *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), 538-43; Jerome Murphy O'Connor, in *Revue Biblique* 85 (1978), 122-26; J. Dunn in *The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library* (1983), 95ff. The second work received a review article by Tom Perdun in *Heythrop Journal* 17 (1986), 43-52.

Notes (contd)

2. Published in Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association (1985), 19-35.
3. G. Vermes, *op.cit.*, p.9.
4. Jacob Neusner, "Sanders Paul and the Jewish People" JQR 74, (1983-84) 416-423.
5. See especially chapter six: 'How revolutionary was Galilee'; *op.cit.*, pp.208-255.
6. *Op.cit.*, p.74; cited by Le Déaut who adds the italics.
7. Interpretation 25 (1971), 259-282.
8. *Art. cit.*, (Interpretation), 268f.
9. *Art. cit.*, (1981), p.62.
10. Neusner, *op.cit.*, p.XVII.
11. *Op.cit.*, p.XVI
12. 'Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament', *ZAW* 74 (1983), 237-246.
13. 'Midrash and the Gospels', in C.M. Tuckett, ed., *Synoptic Studies (The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983)*, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1984, pp.1-18.

John Thompson, ed., Theology Beyond Christendom: Essays on the Centenary of the Birth of Karl Barth, May 10th, 1886. Pickwick Publications, Allison Park, Pennsylvania. pp. ix + 350.

It is sometimes condescendingly admitted, by those who rather wish it were not so, that the only route for contemporary theology to take goes through the road-block that is Karl Barth, rather than around him. That grudging concession can amount merely to cheap truism. How could one seriously do other than recognise Barth's dominance of modern theology and his massive contribution to the development of Western Christian thought? The decisive preposition is not 'around' or 'through' but 'after'. What do we do after wrestling with the Church Dogmatics? What happens beyond the colossal road-block of Barth's legacy? Is it enough for theology to be "post-Barthian" much as our society is now "post-war" - looking back occasionally to a finished episode, once momentous, but now a memory which recedes unstoppably in relevance, impact and authority? Is the Barthian supernova, which lit the firmament for fifty years, a spent force now, visible no longer to the naked theological eye but only through the dedicated lens of an out-moded dilettante or enthusiast? Or is it the responsibility of us all, not indeed to be "Barthian" or "post-Barthian" but certainly to appropriate, consolidate and extend beyond the millennial boundary, that revolution in methodology and content for which our own century will be forever known thanks supremely to the obedience and effort of one remarkable Swiss mind?

That there is a fin de siècle imperative upon us to share in Barth's achievement, not simply to admire and recollect it, is implicitly asserted and amply demonstrated by this volume marking his centenary. All fourteen essays here are by self-conscious participants in the evangelical movement of faith and thought to which Barth gave such renovating impetus - though none of them are hagiographic, and some are sharply critical on minor points, or even major.

In the first half of the book many leading items on Barth's agenda are expounded and assessed: his doctrine of God, for example (Thomas Currie), of the Trinity (John Thompson), of the Spirit (Tom Smail), and election (W.A. Whitehouse), and - of undiminished relevance today - his political ethics (Martin Rumscheidt). Some overlap and repetition inevitably occurs; and some themes are rather under-represented (sin and reconciliation; ecclesiology and sacraments; theology of culture, for example). But these judicious, systematic studies do comprise a coherent review both of the unembarrassed changes of mind between the early Barth and the posthumous, and of the bold concentration and meticulous design of the mature Dogmatics. And they show how prodigious and sustained a feat of intellectual imagination it took, no less than spiritual insight and moral courage, for Barth to subject his own thought and the Church's to the all-determining lordship of Jesus Christ.

The second half of the book branches out, to examine both Barth's relationship with the theological past - for example, the Fathers (Tom Torrance) and Schleiermacher (Alasdair Heron) - and his contribution to present issues, such as science (Harold Nebelsick) and ecumenism (J.K.S. Reid). Between them these explorations confirm the breadth of Barth's thought and the height of his stature in the history of theology, just as they reveal with what modernity and novelty he kept faith with the apostolic and patristic foundations of dogmatics. One essay in particular shows what it means in turn to be faithful to the legacy of Barth himself, while moving creatively, innovatively, beyond him. In "Barth and a New Direction for Natural Theology", Ray Anderson plots the graph from Romerbrief to Nein!, to The Humanity of God, to the "last word" Yes to Emil Brunner, as Barth increasingly affirmed the relative autonomy of the natural, and the absolute integrity of the human. Anderson then extends that trajectory programmatically towards a "new natural theology", which is not Barth's own but might well have become so. For he grounds anthropology and ethics not in the doctrine of creation alone, but squarely in the incarnation and crucifixion. "A natural theology which does not have at the

centre a cross sunk deep into human flesh will not find transforming love at the centre of human moral action" (p.262).

As the other contributions on Barth's anthropology also make plain (Christina Baxter, Stuart McLean, and in part Geoffrey Bromiley's concluding assessment), not even at the beginning was "the abolition of man" Barth's real goal. God's Godness had to be clarified precisely so as to establish, in the freedom love and grace of God, the true basis of humanity's humanness. Indeed this entire volume stands as one more - and regrettably still needed - protest against the caricature of Barth as making God everything and humanity nothing. On the contrary, Barth's achievement was above all a dynamic, relational structure of thought which at last healed the dualism of the West: the antithesis of divine and human, grace and nature, eternity and time, and the two-source model of faith and reason. This is the point of the collection's title, loosely borrowed from Colin Gunton's brilliant contribution. He shows that the dualism which Augustine in particular bequeathed to our intellectual tradition, which characterised the classical era of "Christendom", and which survived even the Enlightenment,, has only in Barth been theologically transcended. Here faith is neither a parallel to, nor an enemy of reason, but the very ground of possibility for authentic reason - just as God's objectivity is for human freedom. Thus "in Karl Barth we have the first major attempt to establish a style of theological existence appropriate at once to the historic Christian faith and to the changed conditions of modernity" (p.297).

Who else has taken with such radical seriousness the modern intellectual rejection of our platonic and medieval past, while so gloriously recovering our evangelical past, above all Scripture's witness to the unity of humanity and God himself in the person and event of Christ? That dynamic conceptuality is the revolution to whose perpetuation we need to be committed still - not least those "evangelicals" who for one reason or another have hesitated to embrace Barth as one of their own. No-one who can say solus Christus, sola gratia., and pro nobis incarnatus has anything to fear

from the Barth of yesterday or from an authentically "post-Barthian" tomorrow.

It is to be hoped that this US publication will be readily available for purchase in the UK and Ireland. It is well worth seeking out. And John Thompson must be warmly praised for finding time among other duties, professorial and moderatorial, to gather and prepare this excellent anthology. It makes a worthy tribute from within the English-speaking world to one who did so much to rescue and renew the gospel for Europe, and beyond - for this century and beyond.

Alan E. Lewis.

Kenneth Cragg: The Christ and the Faiths. S.P.C.K., October 1986, 347pp of text plus preface and index. (Included in the text are 30 pages of references - an indication of the study behind this work.)

The author seeks to relate four major doctrines of Christianity to the corresponding doctrines of four other religions - namely, God and Islam, Messiah and Jewry, Christologies and India, the Buddha and the Self. (More appropriate titles for the third and fourth sections would seem to be Christology and Hinduism, and The Soul and Buddhism). The doctrine examined is chosen because it is central to that religion. Cragg's "aim is to take the Christ whom the New Testament had in view in that most characteristic of its cherished usages 'our Lord Jesus Christ', into those thoughts or inklings of him in the comprehension of other religions. In this way Jesus as the Christ can be studied both as the crux of Christian theology and also as the touchstone of all faiths."(p.5) This is the author's meaning of "Theology in Cross Reference", the sub-title of the book. He believes that the time is ripe for such a study because "we are no longer physically self-enclosed; it

is urgent that we should be realistically open, each to all in custodial doctrine and tradition."

This reviewer found the chapters on Islam most stimulating. From within the Quran Cragg explores the Islamic ideas of prophethood and creation, and the involvement of God in this world. Traditionally "association between the divine and the human within prophethood is utterly unthinkable in Islam." Cragg points out that this separation endangers the whole reality of that divine stake in mankind and thereby make(s) incredible the entire phenomenon of prophethood". (p.68) He makes some telling points with the aid of psychology and history concerning Muhammad's activity in the reception of the Quran.

In this section of the book, the chapter entitled "Zeal and the Lord" should be compulsory reading for all serious Christians. Revelation implies that God is zealous toward his world and is liable for it. "We cannot do rightly on behalf of God in contravention of how God is on behalf of us." (p.77) Islam emphasises the transcendence and sovereignty of God. But "theologies of transcendence which most strongly hold that God has no need of the world assume equally strongly that he has urgent need of their zealotry on his behalf." (p.80) Cragg poses the question: "Do such believers use God's supremacy as the tool of their own supremacy and thus deny His supremacy?" Prophets are the foci of zeal of and for the Lord. But there is a total contrast between Jesus and Muhammad in how the zeal of each was fulfilled. The climax of Jesus's suffering is "for ever indicting religious zeal in a way that is inclusive of us all." (p.88)

The chapters on Messiah and Jewry are both moving and sad. The Messianic hope is common to both Christianity and Judaism, but the two religions differ about the fulfilment of this hope and its extent - Messiah for the Jews, or for all people. This study leads to such questions as: "Should the two testaments ever have been bound up

so confidently in a single Bible?" and "What does 'the universality of the Messiah' really mean for the role within it of those non-Hebraic cultures and their histories, which it claims to embrace?" In this section of the book, the theological tensions are intensified by their being "born of contemporary Zionism, the anguish and entail of the Holocaust, and the painful ambiguities of the State of Israel." (p.16)

The discussions of christologies is a long road to reach a position already held by Christians, namely that the Word should become flesh and suffer. Cragg asks: "Where, if at all, was India in the 'preparation of the Gospel'?" He demonstrates Christian qualities in some non-Christian Indians, notably Ghandhi, but he finds fundamental flaws even in Bhagavad Gita. In contrast Cragg emphasizes that Jesus is "singularly Christ". (Ch.9) Non-historical avatars may generate Hindu devotional ardour within a static social order but they have "no motive-relevance to the burdens of poverty, injustice, deprivation and oppression." (p214) These demand that history be regarded as real. Thus "Gethsemane comes into its own."

The chapters concerning Buddhism expose the weaknesses and limitations of the faith's idea of the self, the Noble Eightfold Path and the world. Buddhist desire to extinguish desire becomes the focal point of Buddhism. But in Christianity desire is "a will for which 'I' is in no respect the goal in order that the 'I' may be in every respect a servant, possessed in dispossession." (p265)

Throughout the book, the author leaves us in no doubt as to his firm Christian standpoint. "We hold to God in Christ, as theology's credential, the disclosure in grace of the God of creation and history. We hold to Jesus as this Christ, the active trustworthy referent for God:" (p21)

The book left, inter alia, four impressions on the reviewer:-
(i) the glory of the revelation given in our Lord Jesus Christ, and
(ii) the humility and gentleness required of the followers of Jesus in this age of war memories, and of pluralism of faiths;
(iii) the desire of others to know God in diverse times and places, and
(iv) sadly, the poverty of such attempts to find Christ.

This last impression is borne out by Cragg's own desire and objective to find "inklings of him in the comprehension of other religions." But he makes no specific suggestions as to what other scriptures may reveal of the nature of God, worthy to be considered as a preparation of the Gospel.

There are some strange interpretations of scripture eg that God suffered in the burning of the prophet's scroll (p.68). Technical terms of "the Faiths" are translated in the index - very useful; but how does the reader know to look there for the meaning? The book is not easy reading but it is well worth the time and thought required for those who are working with others' faiths, and for all who have a zeal for the Lord. It should certainly be available to theological students in College libraries.

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